

Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NL, US, XF, EEC

SUBJ: DISCUSSION WITH PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL

1. SUMMARY: DURING MY CALL ON PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL NOVEMBER 13 WE DISCUSSED IMPACT OF ME DEVELOPMENTS ON DETENTE AND US-EC RELATIONSHIP. PRIME MINISTER THINKS CONFRONTATION BETWEEN WEST AND SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE IN ME, BUT DOES NOT BELIEVE THIS PRECLUDES DETENTE, ESPECIALLY IF EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION SCHEME FOR ARAB OIL CAN BE WORKED OUT. DEN UYL WAS ELLIPTIC ABOUT MIDDLE EAST DEVELOPMENTS' IMPACT ON US-EC DIALOGUE. HE THINKS UK WILL GO TO GREAT LENGTHS TO MAINTAIN FRIENDLY TIES WITH ARABS AND CHARACTERIZED CURRENT FRENCH POLICY AS CONTINUATION OF GUALLISM. DEN UYL, WHO SPOKE ABOUT DUTCH MISGIVINGS OVER US INTERNAL PROBLEMS AND VIET-NAM HERITAGE, EMPHASIZED GON APPROVED US ACTIONS IN SUPPORT OF ISRAEL AND IN INDUCING REALISTIC ATTITUDE IN ISRAELIS. PM STRESSED HE WAS NOT "CRYING ABOUT LACK OF CONSULTATION" AND DOUBTED EUROPE HAD ANY BETTER SOLUTION TO OFFER TO ME PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

2. I CALLED ON PM DEN UYL NOVEMBER 13 AND REQUESTED HIS VIEWS ON IMPACT ON ME DEVELOPMENTS ON DETENTE AND US-EC RELATIONSHIP. PM CONSIDERS US-SOVIET CONFRONTATION TOOK PLACE AS RESULT DEFCON 3 OF OCT 25, BUT FEELS DETENTE TALKS SHOULD GO FORWARD. PM SAID SOVIETS ARE TRYING TO GET MORE OF A GRIP ON ARABS. HE FEELS THEY
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HAVE HAD SOME SUCCESS IN MOVING KING FAISAL AWAY FROM USG. DEN UYL SAID SAUDI ARABIA REMAINS KING-PIN IN MIDDLE EAST OIL SITUATION. PM BELIEVES OPEC STATES' PLAN TO LIMIT PRODUCTION HAD BEEN WORKED OUT PRIOR TO WAR AND WAS NOT ORCHESTRATED BY SOVIET

UNION.

3. PM SAID SOVIETS REALIZE CONTROL OF ARAB STATES WILL BE DECISIVE IN CONTROLLING WORLD POLITICS. THUS, CONFRONTATION BETWEEN WEST AND RUSSIA IN ME WILL CONTINUE. DEN UYL SAID THIS DOES NOT PRECLUDE PROGRESS TOWARDS DETENTE PROVIDED REASONABLE SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND FOR DISTRIBUTION OF ME OIL.

4. I ASKED DEN UYL WHAT IMPACT RECENT ME DEVELOPMENT MIGHT HAVE ON US-EC DIALOGUE. HE REPLIED IN SOMEWHAT ELLIPTICAL TERMS. PM NOTED THAT IN HIS CONVERSATION WITH HEATH IN LONDON NOVEMBER 11, LATTER SAID HE EXPECTS UK WILL BE EXCLUDED FROM ARAB RESTRICTIONS. DEN UYL, HOWEVER, BELIEVES HEATH MAY BE WRONG. PM SAID, BECAUSE OF CUTBACKS, ALL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH RESTRICTIVE POLICY. ARABS REALIZE THAT BY RESTRICTING PRODUCTION THEY CAN OBTAIN SAME CASH FLOW THROUGH PRICE INCREASES.

5. PM SAID THERE IS NO CRITICISM OF US ME POLICY IN NETHERLANDS, EXCEPT FROM COMMUNISTS. IN CONTRAST, DEN UYL FELT HEATH WAS CRITICAL TF US SUPPORT OF ISRAEL ALTHOUGH HE (HEATH) HAD NOT DIRECTLY SAID SO. DEN UYL IS CONVICTED UK HAS DECIDED TO GO TO "GREAT LENGTHS" TO MAINTAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ARABS. PM SAID HEATH BELIEVES THAT AS RESULT OF US FOREIGN POLICY OVER LAST 25 YEARS,

IT IS NO LONGER ABLE TO MAINTAIN ARAB FRIENDSHIP. THEREFORE, IT IS UP TO EUROPE TO ASSUME FORMER AMERICAN ROLE AND ENTER INTO PARTNERSHIP WITH THE ARABS IN ORDER PRE-EMPT SOVIETS. DEN UYL ADDED THAT HEATH'S IMMEDIATE PROBLEM IS TO GET SUFFICIENT OIL FOR BRITISH NEEDS AND KEEP HIMSELF IN POWER.

6. I ASKED PM WHAT HE THOUGHT OF FRENCH ROLE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF JOBERT'S CRITICISM OF ALLEGED US-SOVIET CONDOMINIUM. PM REPLIED THAT PRESENT FRENCH POLICY IS ESSENTIALLY SAME AS THAT OF DE GAULLE. MOREOVER, DEN UYL SAID US'S FAILURE TO CONSULT ON ME MOVES PROBABLY FRUSTRATED PARIS AS IT HAD FRUSTRATED LONDON. DEN UYL ADDED LACK OF CONSULTATION HAD NOT BOTHERED HIM.

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7. ADDRESSING QUESTION OF EUROPEAN UNITY, DEN UYL SAID IN HIS VIEW UNITY IS IMPORTANT ONLY IF IT WILL LEAD TO PEACE AND HIGHER HUMAN GOALS; IT SHOULD NOT BE USED FOR "PAYING BLACKMAIL." DEN UYL SAID GON GENERALLY SUPPORTED ROLE US HAD PLAYED IN SUSTAINING ISRAEL AND "BRINGING ISRAEL TO A REALISTIC ATTITUDE." THEREFORE, PM REITERATED HE WAS "NOT CRYING ABOUT LACK OF CONSULTATION" IN THIS PARTICULAR CRISIS. PM VERY MUCH DOUBTED WHETHER EUROPE HAD ANY BETTER SOLUTION TO OFFER TO ME SITUATION THAN THAT OFFERED BY USG.

8. DEN UYL ADVERTED TO DUTCH DISQUIET OVER INTERNAL SITUATION IN US AND HERITAGE OF US INDOCHINA POLICIES, CITING THESE AS FACTORS WHICH WEAKEN US AND CREATE OBSTACLES TO FULFILLMENT OF ITS ROLE IN ME. NONETHELESS, DEN UYL SAID THAT ALTHOUGH HE HAD BEEN

CRITICAL OF VIET-NAM POLICIES AND WORRIED ABOUT INTERNATL US POLITICS, HE WOULD NOT CRITICIZE US ME EFFORTS AND BELIEVES THAT US "MANAGED AFFAIR QUITE WELL." HE THOUGHT ISSUE OF COMMON MIDEAST POLICY WOULD ARISE AGAIN AT EC SUMMIT, AND HE COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT NETHS WILL AGREE ON A UNIFORM STATEMENT AGAIN.

9. I OFFERED THE PM MY PERSONAL VIEWS ON US DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION, POINTING OUT THAT NO ONE, NO MATTER WHAT HIS POLITICAL PREFERENCE, WAS HAPPY WHEN HUMAN FAILURES MANIFESTED THEMSELVES. NEVERTHELESS, THE AMERICAN SYSTEM CONTAINS SELF-CORRECTING MECHANISMS. I STRESSED OUR GOVERNMENT HAD CONTINUED TO FUNCTION EFFECTIVELY EVEN AS THIS CORRECTIVE PROCESS WAS TAKING PLACE. THIS WAS EVIDENCED BY OUR EFFECTIVE MIDDLE EAST RESPONSE. PM SAID USG SINCE 1945 HAD PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORLD LEADERSHIP. IN RECENT YEARS, HOWEVER, HE FELT IT WAS HARD TO JUSTIFY SOME OF THE METHODS BY WHICH US HAD SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS.

10. I REPLIED THAT NO MAN OR GROUP OF MEN ARE ABOVE THE LAW IN THE US AND THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND OUR FREE PRESS ARE CORRECTING DEFICIENCIES AND BRINGING THE DOMESTIC SITUATION INTO BALANCE. I STRESSED THAT WHAT IS OFTEN LOST SIGHT OF IS THAT THE BASIC ASPIRATIONS OF AVERAGE AMERICAN AND DUTCHMAN ARE ALMOST IDENTICAL. WE SHOULD THINK MORE OFTEN ABOUT WHAT UNITES US AND NOT BE

OVERLY CONCERNED WITH MINUSCULE DIFFERENCES. PM THANKED ME FOR THIS EXPOSITION AND WE PARTED WITH MUTUAL DESIRE TO CONTINUE OUR DISCUSSION. FULL MEMCON BEING POUCHED.

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11. COMMENT: IN OUR NOV 13 CONVERSATION, DEN UYL REPEATED SOME OF WHAT HE HAD TOLD SECRETARY SCHLESINGER NOVEMBER 6 (THE HAGUE 4939). I WAS IMPRESSED BY HIS STRONG SUPPORT OF US ME POLICY AND HIS DISILLUSION WITH THE EC, ESPECIALLY THE BRITISH. DEN UYL CERTAINLY HAS DOUBTS ABOUT ASPECTS OF US INTERNAL POLICY, BUT HIS CONCERN STEMS PRIMARILY FROM HIS APPRECIATION OF THE ESSENTIAL ROLE WE PLAY AS THE GUARANTOR OF WESTERN EUROPEAN SECURITY AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE. I AM CONVINCED ONE BENEFIT OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION IN THE NETHERLANDS IS THAT IT HAS DEMONSTRATED OUR ABILITY TO OPERATE EFFECTIVELY DESPITE MOMENTARY DOMESTIC TURBULENCE. THIS HAS STRENGTHENED ATLANTICIST SENTIMENT AMONG THE DUTCH LEADERSHIP, WHO APPEAR TO BE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT EXACTLY WHAT EC CAN DO FOR THEM IN THE CRUNCH. GOULD

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